

LITERARY.

From the Penn. Freeman.
STANZAS FOR THE TIMES.

'To agitate the question (slavery) new, is not only impolitic, but it is a virtual breach of good faith to our brethren of the South; an unwarrantable interference with their domestic relations and institutions.' 'I can never, in the official station which I occupy, consent to condemn a course which may jeopard the peace and harmony of the Union.'—Gov. Porter's Inaugural Message.

No 'countenance' of his, forsooth!
Who asked it at the vassal hands?
Who looked for homage done to truth,
By Party's vile and hateful hands?
Who dreamed that one by them caressed,
Would lay for her spear in rest?
His 'countenance!' Well, let it light
The human-rover to his spoil!
Let those who track the hound's flight,
Like bloodhounds, o'er our once free soil,
Bask in its sunshine while they may,
And howl its praises on their way!
We ask no boon: our duty we claim—
Free press and thought—free tongue and pen,
To tell the truth in Freedom's name,
As Pennsylvanians and as men:
To do, by Lynch Law unfurled,
What our own Rash and Franklin did.

And, there we stand, with planted feet,
Steadfast, where these old worthies stood;
Upon us let the tempest beat,
Around us swell and surge the flood:
We fail or triumph on that spot:
God helping us, we falter not.
'A breach of pledged faith!' for shame!
Who voted for that 'breach' who gave
In the State councils, vote and name
For freedom for the District slave—
Consistent Patriot? Go, forswear,
Blot out, 'expunge' the record there!
Go, cut thy words. Shall Henry Clay
Turn round—a moral Harbinger?
And arch Van Buren wipe away
The stains of his Missouri sin?
And shall that one unlovely word
Stick burr-like in thy honest throat?

No—do thy part in 'putting down'!
The friends of Freedom—summon out
The parson in his saintly gown,
To curse the outlawed roundabout,
In concert with the Belial brood—
The Balaam of the brotherhood!
Quench every free-discussion light—
Clap on the legislative snuffers—
And snuff, with 'resolutions' right,
The ghostly rents the Union suffers!
Let Church and State brand Abolition
As Heresy and rank Sedition.

Choke down, at once, each breathing thing
That whispers of the Rights of Man—
Gag the free girl who dares to sing
Of Freedom o'er her dairy pail;
Dog the old farmer's spite about,
And hunt his cherished treason out.
Go hunt sedition—Search for that
In every pedlar's cart of rage;
Pry into every Quaker's bag;
And Dr. Fussell's saddle bags,
Lest treason wrap, with all its ills,
Around his powdered and his pills.

Where Chester's oak and walnut shades
With slavery-laden breezes stir,
And on the hills and in the glades
Of Bucks and honest Lancaster,
Are heads which think, and hearts which feel—
To the Abolition steel!
Ho!—send ye down a corporal's guard
With flow of flag, and drum of drum—
Storm Lincoln's castle and its guard,
Belaguer Thomas Whitson's wall;
Beat up the Quaker quarters—show
Your valor so an unarmed foe!

Do more. Fill up your bathhouse jails
With faithful men and women—set
The scaffold up in these green valleys,
And let their valiant turf be wet
With blood of unrepenting sin!
Ay, do all this, and more.—What then?
Think ye, one heart of man or child
Will flinch from this lofty faith,
At the mob's tumult, force and wild—
The prison cell—the shameful death?
No—nursed in storm and trial long,
The weakest of our band is strong.

Oh! while before us visions come
Of slave-ships on Virginia's coast—
Of men in their childless home,
Like Rachel, sorrowing o'er the lost—
The slave-gang scourged upon its way—
The blood-hound and his human prey,
We cannot falter! Did we so,
The stones beneath would murmur out,
And all the winds that round us blow,
Would whisper of our shame about.
No!—let the tempest rock the land,
Our faith shall live—our truth shall stand.

True as the Vandoos, homed around,
With Papal fire and Roman steel—
Firm as the Christian heron, bound
Upon Domitian's torturing wheel,
We hate no breath—we curb no thought—
Come what may come, we falter not!
* It ought to be borne in mind, that David R. Porter
voted in the legislature, to instruct the Congressional
delegation of Pennsylvania, to use their influence for
the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

† He (Martin Van Buren) thinks the Abolitionists
may be put down.—Richmond (Va.) Enquirer.

TRY, TRY AGAIN.

'Tis a lesson you should heed,
Try, try again;
If at first you don't succeed,
Try, try again;
Then your courage should appear,
For, if you will persevere,
You will conquer, never fear—
Try, try again.
Once or twice, though you should fail,
Try, try again;
If you would at last prevail,
Try, try again;
If we strive, 'tis no disgrace,
Though we may not win the race;
What should you do in the case?
Try, try again.
If you find your task is hard,
Try, try again;
Time will bring you your reward,
Try, try again;
All that other folks can do,
Why, with patience, should not you?
Only keep this rule in view,
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Thrice welcome, then! first in the train of Spring!
March! month of wailing winds and lowering skies!
At whose approach the maddened tempest rages,
And through the valley sweep on thunder wing!
Hymning their own death songs!—Lo! storm-
clouds cling
Around thy chariot, and, with dreariest sighs,
The arrowy blast along thy pathway dies,
Still unto thee a welcome do I sing.
For though, amid thy rains, no wild-bird's lay,
At early morn, salutes the ruptured ear;
Though no sweet flowers unfurl their petals gay,
No pleasant sighs the lonely spirit cheer—
Thou bring'st the bosom joy, to know that they
Cannot be far from thee; when thou art here.

NON-RESISTANCE.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

3d mo. 9th, 1839.

FRIEND GARRISON:
Although I had watched with much interest 'the signs of the times,' which foreboded ill, I was half afraid a false alarm had been sounded. Would for the honor of the cause it had been so. It is then true, that the worst fears of many of the tried friends, and the predictions of the greatest enemies of our cause are to be realized? Must this great and benevolent enterprise, the enfranchisement of man, become the mere tool of party, the petty machinery of political aspirants? Will we descend from the discussion of principles, to quarrel over the characters of men; from the high and sacred platform of religious and moral action, to enter the arena of political strife? As well might the proud bird of heaven, that fearlessly bathes its wing in the ethereal sunlight of the skies, stoop to flutter with the meaner birds of earth. And must the Liberator, the pioneer in the cause of human rights, the only untrammelled organ of free discussion in the land, be put down, because it dares to do with the heaven-born principles of Peace? Never! no, never! Are those objectors serious, who, wanting other argument, assert that the introduction of that subject will divide our strength? Do they really believe the advocates of 'peace on earth and good will to men,' would, for a moment, hold their fellow-men in bonds? There is moral sublimity in thy language:

'They want us to haul down the white banner of Peace, and then they will not quarrel with us. NEVER. If that flag must be struck, or the Liberator sink, our mind is calmly and determinately resolved—this cherished bark shall go down.'

'Fully many a fathom deep,'
'conquered not, though slain.' And this we say, not in a contemptuous or perverse spirit. We feel that it is no longer a matter of choice with us whether we recede or go forward. 'There are glorious revolutionary tendencies appertaining to the principles of our humane cause.' Must not be set free, and the world be regenerated. Christ shall hold dominion from sea to sea; though the heathen rage, and priests and rulers conspire against him.

No eagle eye was wanted to discover, 'dim and in the distance,' the surges of party strife breaking fearfully and high upon the rock of Political Action, on which we are in danger of being wrecked. Let those, who sincerely believe that the sword of emancipation can only be effectually wielded by the arm of civil power, endeavor, by a judicious selection of candidates, to have a conscience void of offence. But let them beware. For if ever the abolition enterprise shall degenerate into a separate political organization, from that moment shall we date the prostration of the sacred energies of our cause. Let all those opposed to the measure speak out now for the right. 'Now is the time, and now is the hour.' The crisis has come, and who will abide the ordeal? 'The wisdom of man never wrought the righteousness of God.' That political aspirants, who seek the honor of men more than the liberty of the oppressed, should try to subvert their ends, and that they would find tools for the purpose, was to be expected. But I am surprised that the professed ministers of the gospel of the holy and blessed Jesus, who hitherto would not stoop to dip so much as the tips of their fingers in the dark and turbid waters of politics, and who have consistently claimed, that 'the weapons of our warfare were not carnal, but spiritual, and mighty through God, to the pulling down of the strong holds of corruption and oppression,' can, for any reasons or motives of expediency, at once lay off the armor of God and substitute the weapons of men. But 'great is Diana of the Ephesians,' who are worshippers of 'the image that fell down from Jupiter.' We might almost say of these sage philosophising divines, who are thus letting down the long boat of expediency, as said the apostle of the shipmen, when their vessel was endangered by the storm, 'Except these abide in the ship ye cannot be saved.' But not altogether, for even without their guidance we might not despair. Too late will they find, that in this warfare of the Michael of truth, and his angels of liberty and mercy, against the Dragon of slavery and his angels of tyranny and oppression, 'which hitherto have fought and prevailed not,' they have at best, but on Saul's armor, and that it is only the smooth stone and the sling, wielded by the Davids in our Israel, that can smite to earth the proud Goliath of Gath, and put to flight the hosts of the un-circumcised Philistines, who boldly dare defy the enemies of the living God.

Ho!—send ye down a corporal's guard
With flow of flag, and drum of drum—
Storm Lincoln's castle and its guard,
Belaguer Thomas Whitson's wall;
Beat up the Quaker quarters—show
Your valor so an unarmed foe!

Do more. Fill up your bathhouse jails
With faithful men and women—set
The scaffold up in these green valleys,
And let their valiant turf be wet
With blood of unrepenting sin!
Ay, do all this, and more.—What then?
Think ye, one heart of man or child
Will flinch from this lofty faith,
At the mob's tumult, force and wild—
The prison cell—the shameful death?
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Of men in their childless home,
Like Rachel, sorrowing o'er the lost—
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No!—let the tempest rock the land,
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EXTRACT OF A LETTER.

From JOSHUA COVINS, dated Philadelphia, March 12, 1839.

I thank you for the copy of the Non-Resistant. So far as I understand the doctrines therein contained, they have my hearty approval. I have, however, had no opportunity to examine the whole subject as I intend to, and cannot therefore either condemn or approve what some people call the 'no-government' theory. Of one thing I am certain, that there is a great deal of flippant nonsense about the matter by many men reputed wise, who understand not what they say, nor whereof they affirm. For many years I have been perfectly satisfied, that the principles of the gospel forbid us to resort to injuries, or fight, or take life in any case; that we cannot delegate to others a power which we do not possess ourselves; and that there is a great difference between 'submitting to every ordinance of man,' and either justifying or enforcing those ordinances; and that there are many things which our rulers are by our Constitution and laws obliged to do, which Christianity forbids.

D. P. Brown said to me when he knew I intended to go South, 'You are a fool if you do not carry a pair of loaded pistols in your pocket. No body is safe among such a set of rascals, unless he goes armed. Why, said he, I had a pair loaded in my pocket, when I attempted to deliver an address in N. Y.' What folly! I could not feel safe, armed. I have been down and back in perfect safety.

MERIDEN, Ct. March 3d, 1839.

DEAR SIR:
As I rejoice in the truth, and take an interest in the cause of humanity in which you are engaged, I feel disposed to patronize your paper. Among the thousands of papers in circulation at the present day, I find none which to me appears to embrace so much truth as your paper; and as the decided stand you take, without regard to consequences, endeavoring only to satisfy your Heavenly Father and your own conscience, meets my warm approbation, I not only feel interested in your paper, but love you with an everlasting love, even the love of God, which is unchangeable, undying; for it is the same love where with he loved us, and possessing this love, it is impossible to hate those who love the truth. Yes, it causes us to love even our enemies, and wish for the happiness of the whole human family—to desire every yoke to be broken—to have the oppressor cease his oppression—he that deprives the hireling of his wages to give him his due. May the Lord strengthen your hands and heart, and give you up to the work of truth, for the battle is waxing hot. I enclose a three dollar bill, wishing you to send me your paper, commencing with this month. I shall try to get other persons to subscribe for your paper.

Yours in the bonds of Christian love and fellowship,
JULIUS WAY.

NANTUCKET, 3d mo. 4th, 1839.

WM. L. GARRISON:
My Dear Friend:—Although a stranger to thee, I have for several months felt an increasing interest in the welfare of the Liberator; not as an anti-slavery paper, merely, but on account of its advocacy of the principle of universal peace—the rights of woman, &c. Those are dear to my heart, and in view of their eternal base, if truth prevails, I feel an assurance, that how great soever the conflict, the Liberator will survive the present storm. May the blessing which Jacob pronounced upon his son Joseph rest upon thy head, and be thy defence and crown.

I authorized my friend Geo. Bradburn to pledge me the value of 10 additional numbers. I herewith enclose a check for the amount—say \$25.00 and one dollar for the Non-Resistant.
Thy assured friend,
NATHANIEL BARNEY.

ATHEISM VS. NON-RESISTANCE. Some persons, making high pretensions to christianity, profess to be shocked at the doctrines of the Non-Resistance Society, as leading directly to infidelity! Abner Kneeland has lately come out in a lecture against those doctrines as absurd, contrary to nature, and—anti-scriptural! Who are the infidels?

N. B. The Investigator, edited by Mr. Kneeland, is very zealous in denouncing the anti-slavery enterprise—of course.

COMMUNICATIONS.

QUESTIONING CANDIDATES.

This subject seems to have perplexed the minds of many persons, for want of clear and sound views in relation to the character of our system of government. Such a government is both of a representative and deliberative character. As representatives, the members of it are bound to have their views upon important questions known by the people, previous to an election, in order that they may understand whether they conform to their own; for the people have the right, and it is their duty, to elect such persons as shall express and carry into execution their sentiments in their legislative acts. As deliberative, the government of the official agents of the people have a right to all the information which they can obtain, by a discussion of it in the Legislative hall, from the arguments and facts there produced; and to change their opinions and act accordingly, if they shall, from such discussion, be satisfied that they were before in an error. Now, at first sight, these two propositions may seem to conflict with one another; but, when properly qualified and understood, this will be found not to be the case. For the representatives of the people are supposed to express the enlightened opinions of the people; and they have a right to presume that, after the people have had the advantage of the additional information they themselves have received, their opinion also will have undergone a change; and if it should not, they have it in their power to choose such representatives as will express their sentiments, and act accordingly to them.

The object to be attained, is to give the people a proper control over their agents, and, at the same time, to preserve the personal independence and freedom of action on the part of the latter. And this can only be effected, on the one hand, by making the representative responsible to the people for his actions, and putting it upon his power to consider and pass judgment upon his conduct by their proceedings in relation to him at future elections—while, on the other hand, he has the right to act according to his own views and sense of duty in his official conduct, untrammelled by the opinions of his constituents, leaving them to sanction or disapprove his proceedings as they shall see fit.

It will be perceived by these remarks, if they are correct, that the inference is, that while the people have the right to require of their representative, an expression of his opinion upon questions deeply interesting and exciting, they have no right to extort a pledge from him, that he will be governed by them in his legislative actions, if he thinks he has good reasons to change his sentiments. It would be his duty, however, if he should change them, to give his reasons publicly for so doing, in order that the people may have the power of determining how far he may have been honest in his conduct, and how far the reasons are in themselves sufficient to justify him.

It is upon the supposition, that the people have a right to know the sentiments of those for whom they are called upon to vote, that the great Parties which divide the community in a free government are founded, about which the community are divided in opinion, and the sentiments of individuals belonging to them are supposed to conform to those of the party generally. When, therefore, an election takes place, the circumstance of an individual belonging to one of these parties, is considered as determining his opinions in relation to those questions which divide the parties. In such case, therefore, it is deemed needless to call upon him to express publicly his opinions upon these subjects. But where a question arises, which is of a highly interesting character, and agitates the nation from one end to another, but where political parties have not been organized in reference to it, it is obvious that there is no way of learning the opinions of individuals, who are held up as candidates for office, and

who may be called upon to act upon it, except by calling upon them to express their opinions publicly. In such case, therefore, it becomes the right of the people to call upon the candidate for his opinion, and the duty of the candidate publicly to express it.

W. S. A.

'DYING AWAY.'

LYNN, Feb. 23, 1839.

FRIEND GARRISON:
Please submit the following new Societies:
West Newbury—organized first Tuesday in September, 1838. President, Moses Emery; Vice President, John E. Bartlett; Treasurer, Oliver Brown; Secretary, John M. Poor; Directors, Somerby Noyes, John Carr, Abel Lovjoy, Stephen Little. 32 members.
Ipswich—organized Dec. 3d, 1838. President, Josiah Caldwell; Vice Presidents, Rev. Joel Knight, Wm. George, Amos Dannels; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Asahel Wilds; Recording Secretary, D. Wood; Treasurer, David Andrews. 100 members. Female Society formed Dec. 25th. President, Rebecca May; Vice President, Eliza Cogswell; Secretary, Mary E. Wade; Managers, Mrs. J. Caldwell, Mrs. Amos Dannels, Mary Wardwell, Mary W. Philbrick. 30 members.

West Amesbury Female Society, formed Sept. 10th, 1838. President, Mrs. Lucy B. Clark; Vice President, Dolly Sargent; Corresponding Secretary, Caroline P. Sargent; Recording Secretary, Dolly G. Sargent; Treasurer, Mary Annis; Managers, Mary G. Bailey, Mary Whittey, Elizabeth Nichols. 43 members.
Annis-Squam (Gloucester) Society, formed December 24th, 1838. President, Ignatius Sargent; Vice President, Joshua Tucker; Corresponding Secretary, Rev. George C. Leach; Recording Secretary, James Davis, Jr.; Treasurer, Dr. Bacon; Counsellors, Thomas J. Low, John Lane, Reuben F. Davis, John N. Davis. 65 members.

Yours for the slave,

EDWIN THOMPSON.

FALL RIVER, March 9th, 1839.

MR. GARRISON:
In your prefatory remarks to the resolutions, lately passed by the Board of Managers of the Bristol County Anti-Slavery Society, you say, 'the resolutions' give *prima facie* evidence of hasty action, and an alienated spirit.' 'Alienated' from what? From yourself? from the Liberator? or from the cause of the slave? If from yourself, what is the disaster? If from the Liberator, what the dreadful consequence that must follow? If from yourself—a man—a mere man, loses a few personal friends. If the Liberator—the organ of that man's own private thoughts and opinions, political and religious, loses a few of its patrons. But do those resolutions 'give *prima facie* evidence' of alienation, either from yourself, the Liberator, or the cause of the slave? I think not—and if from the latter, pray in what does the evidence consist? Does it consist in assuming the control, management and oversight of the anti-slavery cause in the county? Or in permitting the American Society to occupy the county with its agents to lecture, and collect funds towards redeeming the pledge of the Massachusetts Society? Or, in approving the course adopted by the Executive Committee of the American Society, in resolving to send agents into Massachusetts? Or, in recommending the 'Massachusetts Abolitionists' to the patronage of the friends of the cause? If in these things consists the *prima facie* evidence of alienation from the cause of the slave, I cannot conceive in what *prima facie* evidence of attachment to the cause, could consist. But if these things are evidence of attachment to the cause of the slave, they most obviously are, and are at the same time evidence of alienation from yourself and the Liberator, in what relation do you and the Liberator stand to the cause of the slave, but that of hostility? You see, therefore, that your remark, and not the resolutions in question, 'give *prima facie* evidence of hasty action.' I think, if you were to add the principle of non-action as well as non-resistance to your creed, it would be a fine improvement. It would tend greatly to allay all unpleasant feelings, and to heal whatever of breach there may have been between recent collisions. And it appears to me, that to those who care more for the slave than they do for their own private aggrandizement or emolument, nothing could be more important than an amicable adjustment of existing difficulties. 'Soft words turn away wrath.' But so long as bitter words, hasty judging, crimination and recrimination, are continued to be used, there will be no end to strife, and the poor slave, I fear, will be forgotten.

Yours for the oppressed,

P. CRANDALL.

AMESBURY, 23d of 24 Mo. 1839.

At a quarterly meeting of the Amesbury and Salisbury Female A. S. Society, the following resolutions were unanimously passed, and we take the liberty of sending them to thy paper. A sense of duty has compelled us to give this publicity to feelings which have long existed among us.
Resolved, That, claiming to be among the earliest friends of the Editor of the Liberator, our gratitude for his past course, and our confidence in his present efforts, be expressed by a unanimous vote, that our efforts shall still be given to sustain and circulate the pioneer paper.
Resolved, That, at the same time, we would respectfully urge upon the Editor of the Liberator and his correspondents the necessity of forgetting all minor and unimportant differences of opinion, and again laboring as brothers for the overthrow of the common enemy.

Resolved, That, as free New-England women we cannot consent for one moment to the idea that we participate in any degree of slavery to oppose which we have associated ourselves together. We cannot compare a mere political disability with the awful deprivations of our sisters in bonds. We cannot selfishly urge upon our countrymen, when, so full on the ear of every daughter among us falls the cry of the fatherless, and those who have none to help them; so full in every mother's heart and eye lives the image of one pinning in captivity, who cannot be comforted because her children are not.
Resolved, That whatever may be our views in regard to the rights and appropriate sphere of women, we cannot but regret that a discussion on this point should ever in the slightest degree take the place of the urgent appeals for aid to our suffering sisters, who are awakened among us a sympathy for the southern slave, and led to the formation of our society, the second of its kind in the United States.

LOUISA S. WILCOX, Pres.

E. H. WHITTIER, Secy.

READING FEMALE A. S. SOCIETY.

The Female A. S. Society of Reading held their annual meeting, Dec. 12th, 1838, and elected the following officers:
Mrs. Hannah Harbison, President; Mrs. Sarah G. Temple, Vice President; Ruth P. Kingman, Secretary; Mrs. Nancy A. Gleason, Treasurer.
Counsellors—Mrs. Sally P. Wakefield; Miss Elizabeth Gardner; Mrs. Nancy Frost; Mrs. Susan W. Peabody; Mrs. Elvira E. French.

RUTH P. KINGMAN, Sec.

'The financial care of the Boston Liberator has passed into the hands of a Committee.'—N. Y. Jour. Com.
'The editor had better be put under the care of a Committee too.'—Boston Post.

'I have a care, Mr. Post, how you put trammels upon me! Money is as soulless as a corporation—it has no idea of liberty, or of insatiable rights. But you will find that to put us in the keeping of others is quite another matter! We should keep up such an agitation, as your sensitive nerves could not bear for a moment. You would, indeed, be in favor of our "immediate emancipation," and be fully persuaded that we can better "take care of ourselves" than any overseer, however democratic or Christian. A word in your ear. Do you remember the fable about the cat and mice? The colonization and pro-slavery mice once held a consultation, how they should prevent their watchful abolition enemy giving them any more trouble. They came to the conclusion, that if a bell was hung upon the neck of the cat, all danger of surprise and capture would be removed. But when it was asked, who would be the first to bell the cat—

'There was silence deep as death,
And the boldest held his breath!'

MISCELLANEOUS.

STORY OF A SLAVE.

[From Mrs. Jameson's Winter Sketches and Summer Rambles.]
Before quitting the subject of Niagara, I may as well mention an incident which occurred shortly after we went on our last visit to the town, which interested me much at the time, and threw the whole of this little community into a wonderful ferment.

A black man, a slave somewhere in Kentucky, having been sent on a message, mounted on a very valuable horse, seized the opportunity of escaping. He reached Buffalo after many days of hard riding, sold the horse, and escaped beyond the lines into Canada. Here, as in all the British dominions, God be praised! the slave is slave no more, but free, and protected in his freedom. This man acknowledged that he had not been ill treated; he had received some education, and had been a favorite with his master. He gave as a reason for his flight, that he had long wished to marry, but was resolved that his children should not be born slaves. In Canada, a runaway slave is as secure of legal protection; but, by an international compact between the United States and our provinces, all felons are mutually surrendered. Against this young man the jury in Kentucky had found a true bill for horse-stealing; as a felon therefore, he was sent to the proper legal requisition, arrested; and then lodged in the jail of Niagara, to be given up to his master, who, with an American constable, was in readiness to take him into custody, as soon as the governor should arrive. The governor, who was at that time in the city, was exceedingly interested in the colored population, consisting of many hundreds in the Districts of Gore and Niagara, chiefly refugees from